Methodological Issues in the History of the Balkan Lexicon: The Case of Greek v<u>ré</u> / <u>ré</u> and

Relatives*

Brian D. Joseph

The Ohio State University

Standard Modern Greek exhibits in widespread use an interjection/exclamation <u>vré</u>, which is glossed by Pring (1975: s.v.) as "unceremonious mode of address or cry of surprise, impatience, etc." and by Stavropoulos (1988: s.v.) as "exclamation 'hey you!; you there!; well!; just!'". Within the standard language and across the Greek-speaking world, another form, <u>ré</u>, an apparent variant of <u>vré</u>, is to be found as well; Pring (1975: s.v.) overtly connects <u>ré</u> with <u>vré</u> ("interjection, see <u>vré</u>"), and Stavropoulos indirectly does so by giving <u>ré</u> essentially the same gloss as <u>vré</u> ("interjection ... 'eh, you, man'") but suggesting it is found mainly in <u>mángik</u>a ("slang, cant jargon").[1] Moreover, three other forms occur that are widespread and are generally considered to be variants of <u>vré</u> / <u>ré</u>: <u>moré</u>, <u>morí</u>, and <u>bré</u>; Stavropoulos, for instance, cross-references <u>moré</u> with <u>vré</u> ("<u>moré</u> -- 'see <u>vré</u>'"), while Pring glosses <u>moré</u> and <u>morí</u> in the same way as he glosses <u>vré</u> ("interjection, unceremonious mode of address") and cross-references <u>bré</u> with <u>vré</u> ("interjection, see <u>vré</u>").

The interest of this this set of expressive forms is not limited to a Hellenist audience, for similar forms with similar meanings[2] occur all over the Balkans and extend into other contiguous areas. A brief and by no means exhaustive survey of such forms is given in (1), to give an indication of this geographic range.

(1)   Turkish: **bre**, **bire**, **be**

        Albanian: **moré**, **mre**, **oré**, **voré**, **bre**

        Romanian: **bre**

        Bulgarian: **more**, **mori**, **bre**

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Macedonian:	**more**, **mori**, **bre**
Serbo-Croatian:	**more**, **mori**, **bre**
Ukrainian:	**bre**
Polish:	**bre**
Venetian:	**morè**, **bre**

While the relationships among these forms and the Greek forms noted above are perhaps still to be resolved, it seems clear, as Eric Hamp[3] has put it "the locus is more in the Greek world than elsewhere". It is true that some of these are overtly felt to be Turkisms in their respective languages, as is the case with Romanian bre,[4] but inasmuch as the origin of Turkish bre is unclear, it may well be that ultimately, even if not all directly from Greek, these forms may in some way be connected with one or more of the Greek forms, a view explicitly set forth by Moutsos (1983: 177).

Even more startling than the wide geographic range of these forms is the incredible variety to be found within Greek dialects. The Greek Historical Lexicon (1953: 119, henceforth "ILNE") lists the following forms as dialect variants of vré, given in (2) with their provenience as indicated; note that those in (2b) are considered to be feminine forms in their reference:

(2) a.

	muré	northern dialects, including Lesvos; Karpathos, Rhodes
	mur	Syros
	móre	Epirus, Pontic
	mór	Zakynthos, Thessaly, Peloponnesos
	morés	Zakynthos, Corfu, Macedonia
	murés	Macedonia
	maré	Epirus, Thasos, Thessaly, Thrace, Imbros, Kalymnos, Leros, Lemnos, Mykonos, Paros, Peloponnesos, Rhodes, Samos, Skyros, Sterea Ellada, Tinos

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	máre	Mykonos, Pontic
	mári	Thessaly, Macedonia
	mar	Paros
	maró	Vithinia
	pré	Thrace, Cappadocia, Livissi, Pontic, Rhodes, Symi, Chios
	embré	Propontis
	épre	Pontic
	ípre	Cappadocia
	ambré	Epirus, Macedonia
	abré	Thrace
	avré	Thessaly
	vrés	Zakynthos
	aré	Evia, Thessaly, Macedonia, Skiathos, Sterea Ellada
	áre	Macedonia
	oré	Corfu, Cyprus, Crete, Peloponnesos, Skiathos, Sterea Ellada
	óre	Epirus, Rhodes, Sterea Ellada
	orés	Epirus, Peloponnesos
	ór	Epirus, Thessaly, Naxos
	óra	Sterea Ellada
	voré	Corfu, Kefallonia
	vór	Megistos
b.	**morí**	common
	murí	Northern dialects
	mrí	Macedonia
	muí	Samothrace
	amóri	Macedonia

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mór	Cappadocia, Macedonia, Tinos, Peloponnesos
mó	Thrace, Macedonia, Tinos
mú	Samothrace
marí	Vithynia, Evia, Thessaly, Thrace, Cappadocia, Lefkas, Livissi, Macedonia, Megistos, Mykonos, Paros, Propontis, Rhodes, Samos, Sterea Ellada, Chios
már	Evia, Kos, Livissi, Megistos, Mykonos
maí	Kos
prí	Rhodes
vrí	Cyprus, Lesvos, Skyros
vrá	Cyprus
rá	Cyprus
arí	Evia, Thessaly, Thrace, Skiathos, Sterea Ellada
ári	Chios
orí	Epirus, Corfu, Crete, Cyprus, Naxos
úrì	Sterea Ellada
vorí	Thrace, Imbros, Corfu, Tenedos
vurí	Lesvos

Hatzidakis 1895, a characteristically thorough study of dialect forms of vré aimed at determining the etymology (on which see below), gives three other variants as well, all from Macedonia: **mbré**, **amóre**, and the feminine **amór**.[5]

Taking the forms from the standard language together with these forms from other dialects, Greek all in all presents 56 forms for this expressive interjection/exclamation, all of which are presumed variants of one another. These forms differ from one another in several respects: (i) accent placement (e.g. oré vs. óre, moré vs. móre, maré vs. máre) (ii) presence versus absence of an -r- (e.g. murí vs. muí, marí vs. maí, mór vs. mó, etc.) (iii) the number of

syllables, usually one or two (e.g. ré vs. moré, mó vs. móre, vré vs. avré, vór vs. voré, etc., and note also the trisyllabic forms amóri and amóre from Macedonia) (iv) the presence or absence of an initial labial[6] and the particular labial consonant found (i.e., [m], [p], [b], or [v] vs. Ø, as in moré/voré vs. oré, bré/pré vs. ré, etc.) (v) presence or absence of an initial vowel before the labial consonant, and the quality of that vowel (e.g. pré vs. épre vs. ípre, bré vs. embré vs. abré) (vi) the presence or absence of a vowel following the labial and the quality of that vowel if present (i.e. [o], [u], or [a] vs. Ø, thus moré/muré/maré vs. mrí) (vii) presence or absence of a final vowel, and the quality of that vowel if present (i.e., [-e],   [-i], [-a], or [-o] vs. -Ø, e.g. máre vs. mári vs. maró vs. mar, óre vs. óra vs. ór, etc.).

Some of the forms, taken pairwise, differ along only one dimension (e..g aré vs. áre), but in most cases, any two forms from the above listing show several points of difference and some show little or no formal similarity. For instance, mór and aré share only the -r- and muí and ór share no formal features. In fact, when one takes all 56 forms together, it is apparent that there is no single formal element that they all have in common; it is not the case that all have the same accent placement, nor an -r-, nor two syllables, nor an initial labial, nor a final vowel, etc. Nonetheless, largely because of their common semantics and common function as "unceremonious" exclamatory modes of address and the like, they are generally considered to somehow be the "same" element, mere variants of some prototypical element.[7]

Going hand-in-hand with this sense of sameness among these 56 forms is the fact that a single starting point, in essence, a "Proto-Modern-Greek" form, can be posited for many--perhaps all--of them, and this point of departure has a clear etymology from Ancient Greek. This common form is [moré], and since Hatzidakis 1895, reaffirming with more detailed argumentation a suggestion made by Koraís (1828-1835: V.33-34), it has generally been taken (so accepted by Andriotis (1983: s.v.) and Floros (1980: s.v.), for instance) to derive from earlier mo:ré, the masculine vocative of Ancient Greek mo:rós 'dull, sluggish,

foolish, stupid, idiotic', which in Attic had a feminine (nominative) mô:ros (though an a-stem feminine is apparently attested as well for Attic, through the accusative mô:ran in Herodas 5.17, if the reading is accurate).

Given such an etymological starting point and its later development, the "Proto-Modern-Greek" form, hereinafter referred to by the cover symbol MORÉ, it is possible to derive virtually all of the attested variants, though in some instances, special ad hoc developments must be assumed. Indeed, ILNE explicitly connects all 53 forms, listing them as a single entry under the headword vré. Thus it is instructive to spell out all the necessary developments in some detail. As becomes evident below, in doing so, one can see that perhaps not all of the variants can be accounted for in a straightforward manner; thus in the course of this examination, some new potential sources for some of these forms are suggested. Moreover, the exercise of examining the source of each form brings to light a number of issues of a methodological nature in studying the expressive sector of the Balkan lexicon and the process of lexical change in general.

One relatively straightforward aspect of the development of these forms concerns their prosodic form. For instance, the change in vowel quantity between Ancient Greek [mo:ré] and later [moré] is the result of a perfectly regular sound change (cf. AGrk timô: 'I honor', pô:s 'how?', káto: 'down' to modern [timó], [pós], [káto], among other forms). Another prosodic difference, the realization of Ancient Greek pitch accents as stress in Modern Greek is also perfectly regular as a sound change. A bit more complicated is the account of the differences in accent placement. The modern difference between penultimate-stressed 'x-x and end-stressed x-'x (e.g. Epirus móre vs. standard moré) in general continues an Ancient Greek accentual difference. Most ancient dialects, but especially Ionic, had an oxytone form mo:rós, with vocative mo:ré. The ancient Attic dialect had retracted accent with this word, i.e. mô:ros, with vocative mô:re, the result of a leftward accentual movement tendency evident in various Attic accent shifts.[8] Thus, since both Attic and Ionic fed into

Koiné Greek of the Hellenistic period, the source of Modern Greek dialects, presumably both Attic mô:ros and Ionic mo:rós were available in Koiné; the former is then the source of modern forms stressed on initial syllable (e.g. Epirus móre) and the latter is the source of the end-stressed forms (though see below concerning a possible loan-word source for this form). It must be borne in mind, however, that even if the general accent retraction phenomenon was rooted in an ancient distinction, some specific pairs of such accentually differentiated forms, e.g. aré vs. áre, could have undergone an accent retraction as an analogical extension based on the pattern of the inherited mo:ré / mô:re pair.

Several other of the differences are similarly to be attributed to phonologically-based processes. Some of these constitute fully regular sound changes, while others are changes that are less than regular, either widespread in the Greek world without being regular in the strict sense, or quite sporadic but nonetheless attested elsewhere in Greek.[9] Taken together, then, they account for a considerable number of the variants, without, however, covering all of them.[10]

For instance, the loss of original unaccented high vowels (Post-Classical Greek i/u) characteristic of most northern dialects of Greek gives the feminine forms with no final vowel, e.g. Evia etc. már, Macedonia amór, Peloponnesos etc. mór, assuming a starting point for the feminine with final -i (on which see below). The similarly Northern mid-vowel raising by which original unaccented e/o became i/u, respectively, accounts for the vowel in the first syllable of Lesvos muré and Macedonia murés, and for the final vowel of Thessaly/Macedonia mári. As an extension of original high-vowel loss, sporadically the secondary high vowels (that is, i/u resulting from the raising of earlier e/o) were deleted, mainly in the north, e.g. in [bDí] 'child' from earlier [peDí] (from Ancient Greek paidíon, diminutive of paîs 'child'--[peDí] is found as such in the southern-based standard language), as opposed to the more usual northern [piDí], but occasionally also in other dialects, e.g. possibly in the standard language imperative plural ending -ste from earlier -

sete. Such a sporadic process would account for forms without a vowel after the labial consonant, e.g. the Macedonia feminine mrí, or, with other changes as well, pré, vré, and bré.

Starting with the mr- from this sporadic loss of secondary -u-, the development of an epenthetic stop in the transition from a nasal to a liquid is the basis for the forms with [b].[11] Medially, -mr- would show the same development as in Epirote and Thracian [vatómbra] 'blackberries' from vatómura, the form found in the standard language, and when coupled with an added initial vowel--on which more below--would yield Epirus and Macedonia ambré and Propontic embré; in initial position, this same sequence would give the widespread bré, with the development to br- seen in Epirus [(m)brázu] 'I distribute' from *mrázu, corresponding to the standard Greek mirázo, though the Macedonia form mbré cited by Hatzidakis 1895 presumably would represent an intermediate stage from which initial br- would have developed.

From a form such as bré, via a devoicing that is found, for instance, in Chios, Rhodes, and elsewhere in various Southeastern dialects (Newton pp. 110-111), the form pré would have resulted. The devoicing needed here, however, would require a slightly different environment from what is found otherwise. Here the devoicing occurs before r, while in Newton's examples, it occurs in the second member of a cluster, e.g. Rhodian [arká] 'late' from earlier *argá (itself from an earlier arVá, as found for instance in the standard language, by manner dissimilation, with regard to the feature [continuous]). Newton does give a broader statement of devoicing, however, which might be at work here: "a stop is voiceless except between nasal and vowel or sonant" (p. 110). Alternatively, if bré was perceived as a Turkish word in the southeastern dialects--and as noted in (1) above, bré does occur in Turkish, even if the source of the form in Turkish itself is not entirely clear--then pré could have resulted from the quite regular devoicing in these dialects of foreign, especially Turkish, voiced stops, as in Rhodian paklavás for baklavás.

There are two other relevant phonological processes that concern consonants and are involved in the generation of some of these forms. In Samothraki, a regular loss of intervocalic -r- occurred, e.g. in [fuá] 'time' from forá, or [mía] 'day' from méra, so that from a starting point murí the variant muí would arise; presumably a similar process is responsible for maí, from Kos.[12] The forms with initial v-, e.g. voré/vorí, can be taken to derive via a sporadic, but attested, sound change of m --> v, as seen in the development of Ancient Greek muzáo: to Modern Greek vizáno (also, with reshaping of the stem-forming suffix, vizéno) 'I suckle' (Moutsos 1983), from which the widespread vré would result via the loss of a secondary high vowel (i.e. moré --> voré --> vuré --> vré, see Moutsos 1983).

Finally, two further vowel changes may have figured in the development of two of these forms. The regular loss of unstressed initial vowels (e.g. Modern Greek miló 'I speak' from earlier Greek omiló (Ancient Greek homilô:)) could give ré from oré, though another source of ré is suggested below; alternatively, a similar process could have yielded ré from aré, assuming that aré itself can be derived in some way, though the loss of unstressed initial a- is less regular and less well-attested than the loss of the other vowels in that environment (see Browning 1983: 57). Conversely, the sporadic, but attested, prothesis of a- (see Iliudis 1985), as in the widespread a-v∂éla 'leech' from Ancient Greek bdélla, or dialectal a-maskáli 'armpit' from Ancient Greek maskhále: could be taken as the source of aré from ré, though clearly not if ré is taken itself to derive from aré; also, the prothesis of a- is best attested with nouns and verbs, so its putative occurrence with an interjectional element such as ré might well be problematic.[13]

These various phonologically-based changes that seem to have played a role in the development of some of the variants noted above are summarized in (3):

(3)   a. Northern mid-vowel raising: original unaccented e/o --> i/u, giving, e.g. Lesvos
        muré, Macedonian **murés**, Thessalian and Macedonian **mári**

b. Northern loss of original unaccented high vowels (Post-Classical i/u), giving

feminine forms with no final vowel, e.g. Evia (etc.) **már**, Macedonia (etc.)

mór

c. Sporadic loss of secondary high vowels (i.e. those raised by (3a)), giving, e.g.,

Macedonia feminine **mrí** (and a presumed masculine form *mré)

d. Starting with **mr-** from (3c), development of epenthetic stop in transition from

nasal to liquid giving **mbr-** which, with an added initial vowel (see (3i) and

below) would yield Epirote and Macedonia **ambré** and Propontic **embré**,

but which in initial position would yield variously **mbr-** (Macedonia) or

more commonly **br-**, thus giving the widespread **bré**

e. Regular loss of intervocalic -r- in Samothraki, giving **muí**

f. Devoicing in Rhodian (and elsewhere), giving variant **pré**

g. Regular loss of unstressed initial vowels, giving **ré** from **oré** (or possibly **aré**,

though loss of #a- is less regular and less well-attested)

h. Sporadic (but attested) sound change of m --> v, giving v-forms (and thus

ultimately, **vré**, via loss of secondary raised vowel (see (3c))

i. Sporadic (but attested) prothesis of a-, giving **aré** from **ré**.

Other aspects on which the various forms differ can be attributed to morphologically-based processes. The feminine forms in final -a, i.e. Cypriot vrá and rá, most likely reflect the Ancient Greek variant feminine form in -a (recall the accusative mô:ran), whereas the Sterea Ellada form óra, not specifically feminine, may reflect a generalization of an originally feminine form to all genders (though see below for a different interpretation). The other feminine forms, those with -i (or -Ø, as a development from unstressed -i) most likely reflect a re-formation of the Ancient Greek form in -o- / -a- (recall mô:ros / mô:ra-) with the synchronically productive feminine ending -i (from Ancient Greek -e: (phonetically [i] by Hellenistic Greek)).[14]

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Many of the forms with an initial vowel, according to ILNE, derive from a univerbation of a form of MORÉ with an exclamatory interjection; the process of univerbation requires the assumption of a loss of accent from one or the other of the once independent forms. Thus, the exclamation á 'oh; hey', attested (ILNE, s.v.) in Thessaly, Thrace, Cappadocia, Cyprus, Macedonia, Tsakonia, and elsewhere, when combined with vré, bré, móre, and móri, would give the Thessaly, Thrace, and Macedonia forms avré, abré, and amóre / amóri, respectively; possibly also, aré could have resulted from this á combined with an independently-arisen ré, an account which extends well to the apparently parallel form with initial accent, i.e. áre from á plus independent ré. Similarly, the exclamatory interjection é 'hey, hello, you there!' (Stavropoulos (1988: s.v.)), when combined with *mré, would yield the Propontic form embré (with the development of an epenthetic b noted above, unless it combined directly with a form represented by Macedonia mbré) and when combined with pré would give the Pontic form épre. Presumably, the Cappadocian ípre evinces a similar path of development, with a presumed interjectional element í as the initial part (though it is unclear whether such a particle is independently attested). It is possible, further, that the exclamatory interjection ó 'oh, ah!, o!' (Stavropoulos (1988: s.v.)) combined with ré would give the o-initial forms oré and óre, and possibly also óra if combined with ra; admittedly, the dialect distribution might argue against such an account for óra, and in any case, another interpretation of the o-initial forms is suggested below.

In these accounts of á, é, and ó with a form of MORÉ, the word order assumed for these elements has the exclamatory-particle preceding MORÉ. This order, of course, is entirely appropriate, considering the etymology of MORÉ as a vocative, for it is quite natural for an attention-getting particle to precede a vocative. However, MORÉ could very easily has lost its original vocative syntax, since in essence it is an exclamatory word and early on undoubtedly was deprived of its original lexical meaning of 'dull, stupid, foolish'. Thus it is not unreasonable to assume that the relative order of the exclamatory elements in

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such a phrase was not fixed, and that an order with MORÉ preceding the exclamatory particle could also occur. Such an order seems to be called for to account for the variant maró, starting from mar or maré (about which more below) follwed by the exclamatory ó. This word order might also be the basis for the Sterea Ellada form óra, from ór with the exclamatory element á, if it is not from ó plus ra and is not simply based on the Ancient Greek feminine in -a.[15]

Yet another morphological process seems to have been at work in the forms with ma- in the first syllable, i.e. maré, máre, már, etc., the forms which played a role in the derivation of maró, as noted above. These ma-forms are most likely the result of contamination, blending mor-forms with aré or áre. In this context, such blends could even be considered a variant type of univerbation, if a combination such as *mor' aré were the point of departure for maré.[16] The assumption that strings of these forms could occur is not unreasonable, nor would such strings be repetitive; these words do not really carry any lexical meaning, so that once a variant were to arise, by whatever process, it could easily be split off from its source and simply become a new item.[17]

Among the variants still to be accounted for are a number that show truncations of one sort or another. In particular, several of the nonfeminine forms, e.g. múr, mór, ór, and others, lack a final vowel, even though the original final -e should have remained. While for those forms in which the -e would not have been accented and for those dialects in which this sporadic process occurs, múr, mór, etc. may reflect a deletion of a secondary high vowel created through mid-vowel raising, it is more likely that extraction of múr, mór, etc. occurred out of a sandhi context in which -e would have been lost, e.g. if the exclamation á followed. That is, the sequence / móre # á / would have surfaced as [mór' a], from which the variant mor could have been extracted and lexicalized. Alternatively, irregular deformations in a vocative are not unusual cross-linguistically,[18] so that the truncation of a final vowel might not be surprising in this context. Most likely, though, invoking such exclamatory or

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vocatival clippings is best reserved for the extreme deformations such as mó or mú or possibly even some of the forms lacking an initial labial, such as óre or úri; such truncations could even be another source for ré.

The last remaining set of forms to be accounted for are those with final -s, namely morés, murés, orés, and vrés. This element is somewhat obscure, but it could reflect a generalization or analogical extension from adverbs such as tótes, a variant of tóte 'then', to other indeclinable words. The restriction of this -s in the exclamations to variants of MORÉ with a final -e provides some, admittedly weak, support for a source in a form like tótes, but it must be admitted that generalization from adverbs to exclamations is not particularly compelling.

All of these Greek variants, therefore, can be accounted for in Greek-internal terms via relatively well-motivated phonological or morphological processes. Still, the derivations proposed here are not entirely unproblematic. In numerous instances, sporadic sound changes were invoked; some, it seems, must be accepted, e.g. the change of m --> v, but must all of them? It must be asked whether at some point it becomes unconvincing to rely on sporadic sound change as an explanatory device. Similarly, many sporadic morphological processes, especially clipping, deformation, and univerbation with resegmentation, were called upon, e.g. to derive oré and possibly also ré; here the sporadic nature is not necessarily troubling, inasmuch as morphological change is expected to be more sporadic in its implementation than sound change, the hallmark of which is lexical regularity, but again one has to wonder when such invocations become too much. While the main objective here is ferreting out the truth about the origins of these forms, so that appeals to economy in explanation, familiar from the evaluation of synchronic analyses, are not necessarily relevant in these cases, still one is left with an unsettling feeling if too many ad hoc devices are summoned forth.

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Moreover, the appeal to a Greek process of a-prothesis as the source of any of the a-initial forms, e.g. aré, has an anomalous ring to it, since, as noted above, the prothesis usually occurs with substantives and verbs, and indeed has generally been considered to be rooted in mis-segmentation with function words ending in -a, e.g. neuter plural definite article ta, neuter indefinite article éna, etc. Admittedly, Iliudis 1985 gives examples of a-prothesis with adverbs, which generally would not cooccur with ta, éna, etc., but his examples of adverbs include deadjectival forms (e.g., akul'tá for standard kolitá 'end-to-end', cf. adjective kolitós 'stuck; glued') which could have the prothetic a- from the base adjective, and forms that have undergone a change of initial e- to a-, not a-prothesis (e.g. apán for epáno 'up; above').

A consideration of the role of a-prothesis leads to another problematic area in the development of MORÉ, and that is one that crops up in most discussions of lexicon and/or grammar in the Balkans, namely language contact. The difficulty in appealing to language contact here, as in other cases, is that the extent of the effects of language contact are often hard to assess.

For instance, in Aroumanian, the dialect of Romanian spoken in Greece, prothesis of a-, in words inherited from Latin but also some of foreign origin, is quite regular, especially before initial r- or l- (Katsanis and Dinas (1990: 20, 33)), e.g., Latin rido 'laugh' --> Aroum. arîdu, romanus 'Roman' --> armînu, laudo 'praise' --> alavdu, Greek róDi 'pomegranate' borrowed as Aroum. aroiDa. It is possible, then, that Aroumanian might have contributed to the occurrence of the a-prothesis process in Greek, if in the process of switching to Greek, an Aroumanian population tranferred its first-language phonological patterns onto the Greek it was adopting. Such an account would avoid the problem noted above with invoking Greek a-prothesis with a form other than a noun or verb. On the other hand, an Aroumanian form with a prothetic a- could be considered a source for the borrowing of forms with initial a-, whatever the source of a form without a- in Aroumanian

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would be, and it is interesting to note that aré occurs in Aroumanian (see Busbukis (1986: 223)).

Once one admits borrowing as a possible source for some of these forms, and note that it is clear from (1) above that these forms can spread over a wide area, throughout the Balkans and beyond, for instance, then a range of possibilities must be entertained, though again there are obfuscating factors. In particular, the direction and more specifically the exact source of any borrowing of these forms can be hard to determine. For instance, is Aroumanian aré a Hellenism, borrowed from Greek, or is it the source of the Greek aré? Similarly, as noted in footnote 5, Venetian varé 'see!' has been suggested by Meyer (1894: 158-159) as the source of some of the forms, but the direction of borrowing between Greek and Venetian with these forms is not entirely clear; Cortelazzo 1970, for instance, treats Venetian morè 'ragazzo da scopa' ("sweeping boy", a maritime term referring to the lowest deckhand) and bre, an exclamation found in "letteratura stratiotesca" (stories about mercenary cavalry), as loan words from Greek moré and bré/vré, respectively. A bit more problematic in this regard is the range of Romanian forms; in addition to bre noted in (1), both maˇ and maˇri are found as interjections and forms of address in Romanian. This longer form is strikingly parallel to the Greek mári found in Thessaly and Macedonia, areas in which there have historically been large numbers of speakers of Romanian dialects (Aroumanian and Megleno-Romanian), but even if that fact about the population of the area is not just a coincidence, how did a form of mári end up in (standard) Daco-Romanian? Also, the truncated form maˇ is not found as such in Greek, though mó occurs in Thrace and Macedonia; is ma an independent creation within Daco-Romanian, or is it from an as-yet unattested Greek variant, or is it perhaps an adaptation of Greek mó? Clearly, then, borrowing is a possibility but cannot be proven in the many cases in which it could be invoked.

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As noted above, among the uncertainties in the derivation of the variants of MORÉ is the derivation of aré and ré: in one way of looking at things, the derivation of aré depends on existence of ré, yet in another, derivation of ré might depend on are. In any case, Greek-internal explanations of these forms required recourse to ad hoc and somewhat unwarranted assumptions, either regarding extreme truncations or vowel prothesis. Given these ambiguities and difficulties of derivation, borrowing can be an attractive account at least for these forms, if a plausible source can be found. One such possibility is explored in what follows.[19]

The variation between aré and ré and the function they serve calls to mind a possible source from far away in the East. As Turner 1966 makes clear, in Sanskrit, Middle Indic (Pa:li, Prakrits), and throughout the modern Indic languages of India (Sindhi:, Kumauni:, Nepali:, Assamese, Bengali:, Oriya:, Hindi:, Gujara:ti:, Mara:thi:, among others), the forms aré and ré occur as words of address, functioning as an 'interjection of calling, of astonishment, of contempt, of disrespect (as to an inferior), of anger, etc.'. From a formal standpoint, aré is the vocative of the noun arí- 'stranger, outsider; enemy; pious', and re is a "clipping" from that or better, a resegmentation from common doubled use are 're, where loss of a- in second part is a regular sandhi development (not unlike the process suggested above for the Greek truncated nonfeminine forms múr, mór, ór, and others). Thus, both the form and the function of Indic aré / ré match well with Greek aré / ré. Moreover, there is a potential carrier of a (Middle) Indic form into Greek, namely Romany, the language of the Gypsies, who are known to have passed through the Balkans in the Medieval period and who still form a significant presence in Greece and the Balkans to this day.[20]

There is no direct evidence for aré / ré in Romany, but there are some forms that are suggestive of the presence of this element that is otherwise so widespread among Indic languages. Possibly relevant here is the term of address móre 'brother! Gypsy!', cited by Pott 1845 for at least North Central European Romany, and tentatively connected by him

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with mó(n)ro 'friend', from earlier Indic bandhu- 'friend'. Pott's derivations require the assumption of some difficult sound changes--for instance, the root bandh- 'tie', which is the basis of bandhu-, otherwise gives European Romany phand. One has to wonder, by the way, whether there is any connection between this Romany term of address and the paroxytone móre found in Epirus and Pontic Greek, even though there is a plausible Greek source for this initially-accented móre.

Pott (p. 453) gives another possible derivation for Romany móre, suggesting that it is a compound of mro- 'my' with something, possibly a form of rai 'sir' (from earlier Indic ra:ja: 'king'). Alternatively, that something could perhaps be (a)re. Based on Thieme's 1938 study of Vedic ari- and related forms, a positive meaning of 'friend' for Indic ari- was available early on in Indic; he argues that the derivative aryamán- is a type of friend with whom one might make a contract or from whom one receives things, and the god Aryaman- is god of friendliness towards guests. A form (a)re in Romany móre, then, might retain a trace of the original semantics of Indic ari-.

There are in addition some further suggestive Romany forms that could be relevant here. Messing (1988: 91) gives Greek Romany mo as equivalent of Greek ré, a form which, if it is derived from Romany móre and is not simply a borrowing from Thrace/Epirus Greek mo, and if it is not simply a "clipping", could point to a segmentability to Romany móre that would support the analysis of móre as a compound.

Romany is a language that has never been accorded high prestige in Greece or the Balkans in general, but there are many instances of borrowings in the Balkans, especially involving expressive and generally "low-style" elements, that do not follow a presumed natural pattern of movement from higher prestige languages to other languages, e.g. the spread of m-reduplication that has been discussed in Levy 1980, Joseph 1984, and elsewhere. Especially significant in this regard is the occurrence of a form of the Albanian diminutive suffix -z´ in a few words in the Greek dialect of Megara, e.g. ligáza 'a little',

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discussed in Joseph 1985, for the social context of Albanian in Greece is quite parallel to that of Romany.

This excursus on a possible Romany contribution to the range of MORÉ forms found in Greek is admittedly speculative, and it should be noted that the occurrence of feminine forms in -i corresponding to aré / áre counts against the borrowing hypothesis, since it appears that these forms were well-integrated into the masculine/feminine patterns found in the MORÉ family. Still, a good many aspects of the development of these forms must ultimately be speculative. The accounts given here point up a number of general methodological problems that exist in any detailed examination of the Balkan lexicon, and indeed, that recur in historical investigations of a more general nature, especially with the sort of expressive lexical items under consideration here. In particular, while regular and widespread changes do occur, both in sound change and in morphological change, the history of individual forms is riddled with the effects of sporadic changes, both sporadic sound changes and plausible but ad hoc morphological reshapings. While the goal is to determine the development of a given form as an individual item, so that having to invoke a sporadic change might well be justified for that particular form, the overall effect of having to resort to the invocation of many such changes, whether phonological or morphological, is to yield an account that seems entirely unexplanatory. Similarly, having recourse to language contact as a source for particular items may well be accurate for a given word, but when borrowing and transfer are invoked willy-nilly, or seemingly as a last resort, then the appearance of an unexplanatory account is often achieved. Moreover, with regard to borrowing, questions of directionality can arise, as seen above with Venetian and Greek, and, as the Romanian forms suggest, it is not always clear whether all variants are borrowed or instead some are borrowed and some are independently created in two speech communities from a single common source. These methodological problems cannot be solved, neither

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for the Balkan lexicon nor for lexical studies in other areas, but it is important to keep them in mind and be aware of them whenever such research is undertaken.

By way of conclusion, a summary is given below of the possibilities for the derivation of all the Greek forms discussed above. Several of these explanations are found already in Hatzidakis 1895 or in ILNE or in Moutsos 1983, but it useful to collect them all in one place. Moreover, many of thse forms admit of multiple explanations, presenting yet another methodological problem that confronts anyone examining this set of words and others like them: how to decide among the different possibilities; no solution is readily available, in such instances, and perhaps one should not be available, for it could well be the case that different speakers created the same form via different processes.

The masculine and generic forms are given in (4), and the feminine forms are given in (5); the feminine forms generally show -i from the regular feminine ending, replacing Ancient Greek -a: (but see footnote 14), so that many of them require no special discussion, being simply the feminine form corresponding to a masculine form discussed in (4):

(4) **moré** regular sound changes from Ancient Greek mo:ré

  muré regular sound changes, including Northern mid-vowel raising of o --> u

  mur raising of o --> u, with truncation of final -e, by deletion of a secondary high vowel created by mid-vowel raising, or by extraction out of a   sandhi context where -e was lost regularly, or as an irregular   deformation in a vocative

  móre from form with accent shift in Attic Greek, or via accent retraction in vocative, or possibly from Romany

  mór see móre and mur

  morés with accretion of -s perhaps from indeclinables such as tótes 'then'

  murés as with morés with raising of o --> u

  maré blend with aré

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máre   blend of moré with áre, or of móre with aré, or via accent retraction

(analogical based on moré / móre pair) from maré

mári   máre with raising of e --> i

mar   máre / maré with developments as with mor / mur

maró   mar(é) with univerbation with vocative particle ó

mbré   muré with loss of secondarily raised high vowel with initial treatment of

resulting mr-

bré   muré with loss of secondarily raised high vowel with initial treatment of

resulting mr-, possibly through #mbr-

pré   bré with devoicing in contact with r, or devoicing of bré treated as if a

foreign word (perhaps Turkish)

embré   bré (with medial treatment of mr), with univerbation with particle é

épre   pré with univerbation with particle é

ípre   pré with univerbation with a presumed particle í (not attested as such,

however)

ambré   bré (with medial treatment of mr), with univerbation with particle á

abré   bré with univerbation with particle á

amóre   móre with univerbation with particle á

voré   moré with change of m --> v

vór   accent retraction with loss of final -e (see móre, mur, and voré)

vré   voré with loss of secondarily raised high vowel

avré   vré with univerbation with particle á

vrés   vré with accretion of -s (see morés)

ré   via loss of initial unstressed vowel from oré (or possibly aré), or

truncation in a vocatival form from moré, or borrowing from Indic

through Romany

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aré   re with prothetic a- from phonological process, or with univerbation with particle á, or borrowing from Indic through Romany

áre   ré with prothetic a- from phonological process, or with univerbation with particle á, or via analogical accent retraction (see maré) from aré

oré   ré with univerbation with particle ó, or via deformation in a vocative from moré (or even voré)

óre   ré with univerbation with particle ó, or via deformation in a vocative from móre / voré, or via analogical accent retraction (see maré) from oré

orés   oré with accretion of final -s (see morés), or morés with truncation as in oré

ór   óre with loss of final -e (see mór, mur, and vór)

óra   generalization of an originally feminine form (from Ancient Greek mô:ra-) to all genders or from univerbation of ó with rá (with generalization to all genders) or of ór with á (in order needed for maró)

(5) **morí**   see moré in (4)

   murí   see muré in (4)

   mrí   sporadic loss of secondary raised u

   muí   via Samothracian regular loss of intervocalic -r-

   amóri   via univerbation of particle á with a presumed *móri (from morí via accent retraction, see móre in (4))

   mór   via regular loss of unstressed i in some dialects (e.g. Macedonia), and via various sources for truncation in others (see mur in (4))

   amór   from amóri via loss of unstressed i, as in mór

   mó   via special truncation in vocatival form, with form with accent retraction as starting point

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mú   via special truncation in vocatival form, with starting point being form with raising of o --> u followed by accent retraction

marí   feminine form of maré (see above in (4))

már   from starting point *mári (feminine form of máre above in (4) or marí with accent retraction) via regular loss of unstressed i in some dialects (e.g. Evia), and via various sources for truncation in others (see mur in (4))

maí   from marí via sporadic loss of intervocalic -r- (regular in other dialects, e.g. Samothrace; see múi) or of palatalized liquid

prí   feminine form of pré (see above in (4))

vrí   feminine form of vré (see above in (4))

vrá   feminine form of vré (see above in (4)) with -a retained from Ancient Ionic form

rá   feminine form of ré with -a as with vrá or analogical to such feminines

arí   feminine form of aré (see above in (4))

ári   feminine form of áre (see above in (4))

orí   feminine form of oré (see above in (4))

úrì   feminine form of oré (see above in (4)) with raising of o --> u

vorí   feminine form of voré (see above in (4))

vurí   from vorí via raising of o --> u.

FOOTNOTES

*This paper had its origins in a presentation given in 1985 at the Modern Greek Studies Association Symposium held in Columbus, and another given in 1992 at the Balkan and South Slavic Language, Linguistics, and Literature conference held in Chicago. The audiences at those presentations provided many useful comments, some of which are incorporated into this version. I would especially like to acknowledge the following friends and colleagues, whose views and assistance proved particularly useful to me as I was preparing this version of the paper: Stratos Constantinides, Bill Darden, Eric Hamp, Chuck Gribble, Richard Janda, Kostas Kazazis, and Marty Schwartz.

1. This is not to say that there are no other functions for vré and related forms. ILNE, for instance, notes that bré is found as a neuter noun in Kefalonia in the meaning 'wife' (to bré mu 'my wife'), and also refer to a use of vré etc. as an expression of surprise or wonder. Moreover, Tannen & Kakava (1992: 29-30) have argued that ré serves as "a marker of friendly disagreement" in Greek conversation, though this presumably is a pragmatic function of its interjectional use; they explicitly connect ré with vré and moré, treating these latter forms as "other variants" of ré (p. 32, fn. 11), so that what they say regarding ré presumably holds in their view for vré and moré..

2. Note, for instance, the gloss given for the Turkish forms (from Redhouse 1984): "exclamation of surprise, particle in vocatives expressing reproach"; however, it should be noted that the Macedonian mori has a positive connotation, and can be translated something like 'dear'. The Macedonian forms come from a collection of folk songs that Chuck Gribble made available to me and helped me translate; the forms from the other languages are cited in Moutsos 1983 and Meyer 1895.

3. Personal communication, May 1992.

4. So confirmed by A. Poruciuc at a presentation of this paper at the Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics conference, University of Chicago, May 1992.

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5. An apparent variant <u>varé</u> occurs in a <u>rebétika</u> song from the 1930's, <u>Gyuzel Sabah Manes</u> ("Tell Me, Charon"), available to me on tape (<u>Greek-Oriental Rebetica. Songs and Dances in the Asia Minor Style</u>, Arhoolie Productions, 1991) through the kindness of Professor Martin Schwartz of the University of California, Berkeley (whose private collection was the basis for the tape). This form is found in the line <u>péz mu varé Haré</u> ("Tell me <u>vré</u> Charon"), but despite the fact that it would provide a Greek attestation of the Venetian form <u>varé</u> 'see!' which Meyer (1894: 158-159) has taken as the source of Greek <u>vré</u>, it seems instead to be a case of <u>vré</u> being sung in a drawn-out pronunciation that is induced by the slow rhythm of the song (note, for instance, that <u>vré</u> occurs in a repetition of parts of that line). Additional variants of <u>vré</u> can arise as a result of sandhi changes found in combination with other words; Hatzidakis (1895: 412), for instance, notes the form <u>vr</u> , but it occurs in the phrase <u>vr aDerfé</u> '<u>vré</u> brother!' and so is actually the result of the elision of <u>-e</u> before a vowel-initial word.

6. Of course, [v] is labiodental and not bilabial, but it does have some labiality in its composition and thus can be grouped with [b], [p], and [m] here.

7. In a sense, then, these 56 forms constitute what Richard Janda and I in a number of recent publications (e.g., Janda and Joseph 1986, 1989, Joseph and Janda 1988) have called a "constellation", i.e. a group of forms (or rules) that crucially share some elements of form or meaning but exhibit so many differences among them that they cannot meaningfully be collapsed into a single basic form (or rule). As noted above, there is no single formal feature shared by all 56 forms and these various formal features provide a basis for differentiating among the forms; however, they do have a common meaning and function, and significantly there are clusters of forms united by one or more features, yielding here a number of interconnecting sub-constellations.

8. For example, Attic underwent a leftward accent shift known as Vendryes' Law (see Collinge (1985: 199-202) for some discussion of this phenomenon and relevant literature),

whereby, in Collinge's account, "a high pitch is moved leftwards by one mora across a syllable boundary" if the antepenultimate syllable is short.   This "law" is not directly applicable to the shift from [mo:rós] to [mô:ros], but the general tendency it describes may have been at work in the form at issue here.

9. As Bill Darden has pointed out to me, the forms represented here, being expressive, exclamatory, interjectional forms, are exactly the type in which sporadic sound changes often are found; for that reason, it is not necessary to be overly concerned here with the distinction between regular and sporadic sound changes, but they make for a convenient means of labelling someof the processes which gave rise to the diversity of forms evident here.

10. Unless specifically noted, all of the sound changes utilized below are discussed in Newton 1972, which can stand as a general reference for all of them.

11. This account has been proposed by Moutsos (1983: 176-7), who, drawing on Hatzidakis 1895, gives additional modern dialectal examples of these developments with m + r (and m + l) clusters, with detailed references to the relevant literature.

12. Alternatively, since intervocalic loss of -r- seems not to be a regular characteristic of Koan Greek, this form could reflect the sporadic loss of a palatalized liquid in fast speech, as in the common [máista] for málista 'certainly'.

13. Iliudis treats most instances of a-prothesis as arising from either missegmentation or analogy; interestingly, he includes avré (p. 264) as an instance of a-prothesis by missegmentation.

14. Conceivably, morí (and the feminine forms in -i more generally) could reflect a presumed Ionic *mo:ré:. The same type of re-formation process as that suggested here presumably yielded the Ancient Attic Greek feminine in the synchronically productive -a after -r- as a replacement for the feminine o-stem mô:ros.

15. Conceivably too, the e-final forms could incorporate the exclamatory element é, but since a final -e occurs in the vocatival source MORÉ, such an assumption is redundant and unnecessary.

16. In that case, one cannot exclude the possibility that phonological processes such as vowel assimilation or dissimilatory loss of r in a sequence r ...r may have played a role in the development of maré.

17. My thanks to Bill Darden (personal communication, May 1992) for this valuable insight.

18. For example, in the Algonquian language Cree, as described by Wolfart (1973: 32), in the formation of the vocative singular, "some kin terms remain unaffected, others undergo apocope (the loss of final consonants, vowel-consonant sequences, or whole syllables) ... vowels are often lengthened or distorted".

19. A borrowing explanation for aré could entail separating it from the apparently parallel form with a different accentuation, áre. Unless áre derives from aré by a stress-shift, perhaps on analogy with other forms of MORÉ with initial accent, it would have to be accounted for by either a form of a-prothesis or, more likely, univerbation with á.

20. For example, the evidence of Greek number words in most of European Romany attests to an early presence in the Balkans for the Gypsies with subsequent migrations to other parts of Europe; see Messing 1988 for a description of a present-day Gypsy community in Greece.

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<u>ILNE</u> = <u>Istorikón Leksikón tis Néas Elinikís tis te kinós Omiluménis ke ton Idiomáton</u>. Volume 4 (1953). Athens: Academy of Athens.

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Some changes to the above text (sent via e-mail to Mark Pisaro 9/12/94, at U of Chi):

Herodas. The Mimes and Fragments. 1922. Edited by Walter Headlam and A. D. Knox. Cambridge, at the University Press (reprinted 1979 by Arno Press (New York), Greek Texts and Commentaries Series).

In looking at the paper again, I wasn't exactly sure where the reference would fit in best; perhaps on page 5 where Herodas is mentioned, it could be added thus: "... Herodas 5.17 (Headlam & Knox 1922) ...".

Also, I have noticed that there are a couple of small changes that could be made, as well as some additional forms that could (or should) be added to (1). The small changes are as follows:

a. in footnote 2, please change Chuck Gribble to Charles Gribble (though he does indeed go by the name of Chuck, that's a bit informal for this venue, I think.

b. at the end of footnote 2, please change it to "... Moutsos 1983, Meyer 1895, and Sandfeld 1930", and then add Sandfeld 1930 to the bibliography as follows:

Sandfeld, Kristian. 1930. Linguistique balkaniques. Proble`mes et re'sultats (Collection linguistique publie'e par la Socie'te' de linguistique de Paris 31). Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore' Champion.

(Note: e` = e with a grave accent; e' = e with an acute accent)

The additional forms, which I realize might be hard to add at this point, are as follows:

Albanian: mori, mojE, vre (note that my E here should be
                            typed in as e-with-an-umlaut)
Romanian: mAre, mAri, mAi, mA (note that my A here is
                            the Romanian a with an
                            inverted half circle on it)
            vre
Bulgarian: mari, vre
Macedonian: ore, ori, vre
Serbo-Croatian: vre
Turkish: vre

c) If these forms can be added, then the reference to additional forms in Romanian on page 15 needs to be altered slightly: where it currently reads "in addition to bre noted in (1)" it should read instead "as noted in (1)".